3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

roof, usually at a point two or three feet down from the ridge-pole. The other ends of these gable rafters are spread fan-like along the end beam (fig. 5, *f*, *f'*) of the superstructure so as to produce a complete frame for the attachment of the thatch of the gable. There is thus left at the top of this gable a small triangular opening, such as that shown in pl. x, which serves as a vent for the smoke from the open fire-box. The thatch is so laid on that it projects about two feet beyond the ends of the side roofs, while the thatch on the gable end just meets the underside of this projection. The projection of the ends of the side roofs in this manner prevents the rain from driving through the thatch along the line upon which the side and gable roofs meet, and it is also sufficient to prevent the entrance of rain through the triangular opening at the extreme top of the gable. The slant of the roof, both gable and side, is usually about forty-five degrees. The slant of the gable is regulated by the length of the short ridge-pole above mentioned. This whole construction of the superstructure of such a building is well illustrated in the unfinished dwelling shown in pl. VII.

The covering of the roof is a thatch of palm-leaves, usually those of the tagua, or ivory-nut palm. The necessity for a constant supply of these leaves, combined with the desire to perpetuate the supply of ivory nuts (since these are a source of considerable wealth), has caused the Cayapa to preserve carefully the groves of these palms. Even single palms growing quite apart from others are conserved. The trees, vines, and under-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

growth of the jungle are cut away from time to time around these palms, and about once a year, usually on the occasion of harvesting leaves for a thatch, the crown of leaves is trimmed. Any drooping dead leaves at the base of the crown are thrown away and the thoroughly mature healthy leaves only are selected for the thatch. Thus there remain at the center of this crown a number of young and more tender leaves which serve the needs of the plant itself and prevent damage to it which might otherwise arise from the loss of the mature leaves.

The tagua is a low-growing species of palm, the upper end of the stem, from which the leaves spring, rarely exceeding sixteen feet above the ground. The leaves are therefore easily gathered by means of a short ladder. This, combined with the fact that the tagua produces a very good quality of leaf, makes it almost the only species used for permanent thatch. While several other species of palm produce leaves of durable quality, they grow to such height that it is not expedient in most cases to gather the leaves except by cutting down the palm itself.

The tagua leaves, which reach an average length of about fourteen feet, have stout leaflets extending from the midrib at an angle of perhaps seventy degrees and for a distance of about three feet on each side of the midrib. To prepare the leaves for use, they are split in two along their midribs. Four of these half-leaves are then laid together so that the natural under-surfaces of the leaflets all face the same direction and the midribs are tied together with pitigua at two points.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925

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PLANTAIN FIELD

[p.79(A)]

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HARVEST OF PLANTAINS

[p. 74(B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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241 white fibers used in making one kind of string. In all cases, however, such fields are comparatively near some stream, thus enabling those who cultivate them to travel back and forth in canoes and to transport readily the product of the fields to their homes.

•245 The most important vegetal product of the Cayapa fields is the plantain, the uses of which as a food have already been discussed. The plantain, like the banana, is grown from root-stocks, never from seed. After the planting of one of these root-stocks, nine to ten months of growth are required before the first racime of fruit is harvested; but while the stalk bearing this first racime is coming to maturity, several small shoots from the parent root-stock are developing, so that within a few weeks after the harvesting of the first racime a second is matured, and so on indefinitely. Thus when a field of plantain is once established, it practically never needs replanting, provided, of course, it is properly tended and cleared of the rapidly-growing brush and weeds. Each root in such a field will mature a stalk and a racime of fruit about once every four to six weeks the year round, there being practically no seasons or seasonal changes in this region. A stalk bears but a single racime, and this is so heavy that, as the young fruits make their appearance, a prop is always placed against the trunk of the plant upon the side on which the racime hangs. When the fruits are well filled, but while they are yet green, the entire stalk is chopped down with a machete. This is done for the reason that the stalk bears but a single racime and would therefore naturally die after

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the ripening of the fruit, and also to facilitate harvesting the heavy racime of fruit, which is usually from ten to fifteen feet from the ground. The fruit having been removed, the trunk is chopped up and rolled away from the newly growing shoots. Owing to its succulent character and to climatic conditions, the trunk decays rapidly. 245

Being the chief food of the Cayapa, plantains are grown in considerable quantities, often a single family having a field covering several acres. It appears, however, to thrive better in some places than in others. For instance, in the region about Punta Venado the land is comparatively low and wet, and complaint is made that the plantain does not do well. Along the Rio Onzole, on the other hand, better conditions are said to prevail, the land being somewhat higher and having better drainage.

The fields of plantain are in large measure tended by the women, though the men frequently assist in clearing the fields. The harvesting is done almost entirely by the women, who cut down the stalks as above mentioned. They strip off a wide band of the bark from the midrib of one of the large leaves, which they use as a head-band in carrying the racimes of fruit from the field to the canoe, thence to the house. As before stated, the plantain is always gathered while green. Even if ripe plantain is desired, it is usually gathered green and allowed to ripen indoors. The gathering of the plantain while green is, first of all, a matter of necessity, since if it were left in the field to ripen it would be devoured by parrots,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e'lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapā'tci ya or ta'pā ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[279] caldron a second time. If, however, a contrary result has been effected, someone else will usually "try his hand." [771] The whole process of rum-making is one in which the women do fully as much work as the men, and they also have "lucky" and "unlucky" hands in distillation.

Usually the ordinary distillation above described is considered sufficient. If, however, an exceptionally good rum is desired, as for use at certain feasts, a special process of fractionation is resorted to and the product of the ordinary distillation is redistilled. A special flavor is imparted to the rum at this time by putting into the caldron with it several of the large leaves of an aromatic herb which abounds in the region and which possesses an anise-like odor and flavor.

257 As previously stated, the chief use of sugar-cane is for making rum, but, as before described in speaking of foods, the Cayapa occasionally make syrup and also a kind of preserves. On the other hand, they never make 262 sugar, as do the negroes of this region. Much raw cane is also chewed. The fibrous though tender stalk is, of course, not swallowed, but it yields a large quantity of rich, sweet juice which is highly relished. The cane is also frequently roasted in the coals; and in boiling cane-juice to make guarapo for distillation, stalks of raw cane are frequently cut up and thrown into the kettle to boil with the juice. The result of either the roasting or the boiling is a rich food with a flavor resembling that of maple, and is even more palatable than the raw cane.

• 240 Cacao (Cayapa, kaka'bō), from which chocolate is made, is extensively grown by the Cayapa, although

Barrett E-9 (1908-1909)1925
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almost exclusively for the sale of the dried seeds. The planting of a grove of cacao requires considerable care. The seeds are planted in calabashes or boxes at the house, and the young plants are not set into the ground until they have attained a height of from four to six inches. They are carefully protected when first planted in the open ground, a joint of large bamboo being set down around each. This precaution is necessary chiefly on account of the prevalence of ants, which would soon devour the young plants if they were not thus protected. When encased in this tube of bamboo, although it is open at the top, the young plant is rarely molested. From four to five years are required to bring one of these trees into full bearing, but even with the crude Cayapa methods of horticulture, a large tree sometimes produces as much as two or three hundred pounds of dried cacao in a year.

The brown, ovate seeds, which are contained in a large red or yellow egg-shape pod, are each surrounded by a whitish or translucent fleshy covering. The pods are gathered when ripe, brought to the house, and cut open with the machete. The seeds with their fleshy coating are then placed in a large wooden tray, such as that shown in pl. LXIII, *b*, some water is added, and the mass is kneaded and worked thoroughly with the hands, thus removing all the fleshy covering and leaving the seeds ready for drying. As a by-product of this process, the outer coloring of the seeds, when mixed with water, forms a liquid of the consistency of thin gruel and with a pleasant, slightly acid flavor. This liquid is very re-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū' cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [521] A species of small Compositæ, called la'lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 262 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa wherever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitc2's, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with brea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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Calabash Implements and Utensils

415 177 245 A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

415 245 As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa′iyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as cu′lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

415 The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it..

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like.

Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterizes the tropical lowland areas.

except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Rio Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

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CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

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Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk,